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THE

PSYCHOLOGICAL BULLETIN

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

BY ABRAHAM CRONBACH
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The following bibliographical survey is meant to cover all accessible publications on the psychology of religion that have appeared since January 1, 1926. Psychoanalysis as well as "regular" psychology is included. While much of the matter may be characterized as "descriptive," a great deal of it is controversial and some of it is "practical," the "practical" itself subdividing into the "therapeutic," the "clerical" and the "pedagogical."

DESCRIPTIVE

A volume of outstanding merit for its descriptive—as indeed for many other qualities is "The Psychology of Religion" by Josey (57). The volume follows the best traditions of James, Starbuck, Coe, Ames and Pratt. It handles such themes as the development of religion in society, the development of religion in the individual, belief in God, belief in immortality, conversion, cult practices, preaching and prayer. There is an enumeration of "roads to belief in God" and of "roads to disbelief in God" as well as of "ways in which the belief in God proves itself of value"-an arrangement typical of almost every chapter in the book. While psychoanalysis and other recent departures receive scant attention, the resources of "regular" psychology as well as of every day observation are abundantly and profitably utilized. Hickman's "Introduction to the Psychology of Religion" (51) ranges within the same territory. Also Dimond (37), Mahoney (72), Edward (38), and Jordan (56) discuss religious attitudes and reactions in terms of imitation, suggestion, repression, inhibition, release, instincts, emotions and sublimations, largely, however, in quotations from Ribot, Stout, James, Hall, Rivers, McDougall and Pratt. Points of methodology are treated by Spier (119), Thouless (124), Vorbrodt (127), Murphy (81), and, above all, by Watson (129).

Flower (43, p. 93), Schilder (104, p. 21) and Popper (90), in slightly diversified ways, find religion rooted in man's experience of and reaction to frustration; while E. Jones (54) repeats the familiar psychoanalytic formulation: "The religious life represents a dramatization on a cosmic plane of the emotions, fears and longings which arose in the child's relation to his parents." That religion involves "the whole man" is the reminder advanced by writers so highly diversified as Edward (38, pp. 24, 97), Mahoney (72, p. 206), De Sanctis (34, p. 252), Hickman (51, pp. 18, 19), and Müller-

Braunschweig (80, p. 59).

The diversity of religious types is dwelt upon by Mahoney (72, p. 46), Beth (9, p. 7), Wunderle (139, p. 57), Cleve (29) and Jordan (56, p. 131). Mahoney expands upon the eight-fold division enunciated by Professor Richardson of Northwestern Universitytraditionalist, critical, mystic, executive, dogmatic, ritualist, ascetic, Beth's classification is: mass religion vs. Individual religion; religion of the master type vs. religion of the slave type; religion of the self-sufficient vs. that of the disconsolate; inspiration vs. tradition; religion concealing vs. that dissolving the sense of inferiority; otherworldly vs. this worldly religion; religion of health vs. that of sickness; of sexual sublimation vs. sexual suppression, Wunderle sees on the one hand a religion of humility, dependence and fear; on the other hand, a religion of love. Cleve quotes Adolf Stöhr's five Gundtriebe-self-preservative, sexual, altruistic, diabolical, and, grouped together as drainage devices for excess stimulation, aesthetic interest, habit maintenance, novelty and constructiveness. Jordan bases himself on Bain's classification of belief into reasoned, emotional and volitional.

A number of publications discuss the relation of religion to insanity (30, 104, 109, 125). Schou (109), himself a psychiatrist, cites numerous cases of melancholia, manic-depressive insanity, and paranoia in which persons are affected by religious preoccupations while in these states though indifferent to religion when normal—a phenomenon also brought out by Thrift's study of Cowper (125). Schou thinks that "the frequency of religious ideas in cases of

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insanity . . . is related to the primitive character of the religious life" (109, p. 132).

The subject of sin is approached from a variety of directions (4, 79, 82, 91, 97, 109, 127). Vorbrodt (127, p. 96), like Neumann (82), an exponent of Alfred Adler's *Individualpsychologie*, discovers the "original sin" in the assertiveness that grows out of the inferiority complex—a view also advocated by Povah (91, p. 79). Neumann regards the beatitudes as an antidote to the inferiority complex, sin being, in his view, neurosis; and conversion, healing (82, pp. 19–22). Reik (97) holds that the "religious declaration of sensuality and lust as sin serves not only the purpose of cultivating a proper sense of guilt but also tends to aid in the enhancement of instinctual gratification." Schou (109) notes a number of cases in which the conviction of unpardonable sin is bound up with the pathological condition of melancholia.

Bjerre (17), drawing on some of his own experiences, exhibits the working of restorative forces in the unconscious and the bearing of these upon such concepts as sacrifice, contemplation, prayer, grace and holiness. Similarly, the Freudian discrimination of the It, the I am the Super-I furnishes Müller-Braunschweig (80, pp. 56-61) with psychoanalytic explanations of freedom, grace and dependence on God. De Sanctis (34), in his study of conversion, subtly traces six distinct factors as predisposing to that occurrence.

Mahoney (72, p. 101), like Starbuck (122), Maréchal (73), Jones (55), Phohl (89), and Fargeo (40), interested in mysticism, discusses the purgation, illumination, ecstasy and trance of mysticism but offers little insight into underlying psychological causes. The same omission marks Tillyard's exposition (126) of the theories, postures, rituals, phrases, formulæ, breathings, etc., employed by Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan as well as Christian mystics to induce the mystic state. Masson-Oursel (74) deals with a similar theme, while Lamprecht compares mysticism with art (68, p. 711).

Strikingly abundant is the anthropological matter (28, 32, 34, 43, 44, 45, 61, 83, 91, 94, 98, 111, 119, 126). Povah conjectures a factor determinative of Jewish religious unfolding to have been the grammar and syntax of the Hebrew language. The serpent of Moses he takes to represent the libido and the lifting of the serpent-rod to have signified sublimation—a conclusion which he believes confirmed by libido dreams of to-day (91, pp. 7, 190). "The leaders of the country," he writes, "doubtless intensified the social evils which they

could not remedy as a defense reaction against listening to the teachings of the prophets" (p. 146). Róheim's (98) elaborate inquiry into moon mythology, like Daly's (32) into Hindu myths, proceeds under Freudian viewpoints to such an extent that the waxing and waning of the moon is related by Róheim to the erections of the male and the menstruations of the female. The Œdipus complex figures in From's study of the Sabbath (44) and in Fromm-Reichmann's study of the Jewish dietary (45) as well as in Reik's disquisition on Christian dogmas (96). Soil (i.e., mother earth), we are apprised, symbolizes the mother; plowing symbolizes sexual intercourse. The prohibition of plowing on the Sabbath thus amounts to an expression of remorse for the incest longing. The Jewish dietary restrictions are found to be associated, directly or indirectly, with horned animals, hence with the sexual prerogatives of the father who is represented by horned animals; while the punishment inflicted by the father upon the incestuous son is presumed to be signified, through a number of removes, by the seething of the calf in its mother's milk (Exodus 23, 19:34, 26; Deuteronomy 14, 21). Fromm-Reichmann offers corroboration of these views from Jewish patients of her own who, in the presence of forbidden food, experience sexual excitement, erection and orgasm. Reik discerns in all dogmas and in the controversies, bigotries and persecutions revolving around dogma, a neurotic compromise between rebellion and submission. Glaubensvorstellungen entsprechen den Zwangsvorstellungen, die Dogmen den Zwangsideen und jene Ueberlegungen, Begründungen, Konklusionen welche die rationale Theologie liefert, den Delierien der Menschheit in ihrer religiösen Entwicklung" (96, p. 378). Similar is Schlesinger's theme (105). Dimond's history of Methodism (37) also reveals the prevalence of sexual components.

Even more copious is the biographical matter. Our list contains biographies of St. Augustine (106), Paracelsus (120), Sánkara Acharya and Meister Eckhart (86), George Fox (43, Chap. V), Johann Christoph Blumhardt and Gottlibin Dittus whom he cured of hysteria (112), John Wesley (37), Knut Hamsun (1), Therese Neumann of Konnersreuth (36, 77, 132), Friedrich Stanger (140), Anna Schmidt (70), Johannes Binggeli (100), Anton Unternährer (100), Ludwig Christian Häusser (134), and William Cowper (125). Therese Neumann is an amazing contemporary instance of stigmatization. Every Friday, while visualizing incidents of the Passion, she bleeds profusely from the eyes, hands and feet. Dr. v. Weisl (132) professes himself unable to account adequately

either for this phenomenon or for a prior one in the life of Therese when, for a succession of months, she appears to have refrained totally from food and drink. Friedrich Stanger (born 1855) was a reformed drunkard and reprobate who, among many celebrated acts of healing and rehabilitation, founded and still maintains at Möttlingen the Rettungsarche, a kind of home and hospital for the sick and derelict where religious influences are astonishingly potent. Johannes Binggeli and Anton Unternährer were colossally oversexed Swiss sectarians. Binggeli "liess seinen Penis als 'Büchse Christi' verehren, er urinierte coram publico, seinen Urin nannte er 'Himmelstropfen' oder 'Himmelsbalsam' und verteilte ihn unter seinen Anbeter die ihn innerlich und äusserlich verwendeten gegen Krankheiten und Anfechtungen. . . . Manchen seiner Anhänger wusste er mächtig zu imponieren dadurch dass er nach Belieben roten, blauen, grünen Urin lassen konnte. Ja Binggeli liess seinen Urin sogar als Abendmahlwein trinken" (100, p. 418). Binggeli is reputed to have cured a woman of aneuria by cohabiting with her "Auch mit anderen Schwestern der Waldbruderschaft (the organization which he headed) hatte er verkehrt und manche von ihnen wollten von ihm prophylaktisch behandelt werden, was er ihnen nicht abschlug" (ibid.). Of Anton Unternährer (born September, 1739), Rorschach writes: "Alles ist bei ihm desublimiert, Die Tendenz die sich durch die ganze phylogenetische Entwicklungsgeschichte hindurchzieht, die Tendenz der Sexualverdrängung ist auf den Kopf gestellt. Nur das Sexuelle ist Lebenszweck . . . ein Gottwohlgefälliges Sakrament . . . ein wahrhaftes Priestertum" (100, p. 426). Unternährer's "New Jerusalem" described in one of his twenty writings, is an abode of complete sexual nonrestraint while Hell is depicted as reserved for those who disparage sex (p. 430).

Closely akin to biography are the numerous case studies. Reference has already been made to the Jewish dietary cases of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann (45) and to the mental derangement cases of Schou (109). One of Watson's admirable works on religious pedagogy is devoted entirely to case studies (128). The celebrated theologian, Rudolph Otto, offers case studies of three children who were suddenly overtaken by what Otto is famed for calling "the sense of the numinous" (85). Beth scrutinizes extensively not only the case of P. N. (12) but also the case of Olga with her quaint religious misconceptions—Jesus pictured as a huge hen, "conceived by the Holy Ghost" construed to mean politely greeted by a gentle-

man named "Holy Ghost" (11). (The German word "empfangen" denotes both "receive" and "conceive.") Miss Chadwick explores psychoanalytically the creator phantasies and subsequent artistic ambitions of a boy and of a girl behind which, naturally, lurk the wish for the death of the father and for the propitiation of the Deity (26). Hinsie (52) examines intensively two psychiatric cases which apparently confirm the psychoanalytic doctrine that the desire for heaven burgeons from an unconscious longing for a return to the womb. Lyon's article (71) is a case study of a Mohammedan priest and Sarma's (101) that of a Hindu. Jacob, David and Paul are topics for Anderson (3) who, while perhaps an able psychiatrist, is hardly to be commended as an exegete. Jacob's dream, David's insanity (I Samuel 21, 13) and Paul's vision are his sources of inference regarding "incestuous fixations" and "strong narcissistic tendencies" in Jacob, "neurotic and psychopathic reactions" in David, and "a fairly typical hysterical reaction" in Paul. From a different angle, Beth considers the mentality of the Biblical Joseph (10). With Schroeder (110), the occasion of a characteristic assault upon religion is the religious self-revealing of an anonymous clergyman. While Radin provides the autobiography of the Indian, Crashing Thunder (93), Oliver's novel "Fear" (84) contains the fictitious autobiography of a James Edwards. Bjerre (17), like the anonymous author of "The Unpardonable Sin" (4), is himself the case he investigates. College students are the objects of questionnaire inquiry by Matthews (75), by Bain (6), and by Schneider (107). Schneider records the answers of three German students and of three American students who were asked to describe their responses to the statements: "God is nothing but power and will," "God is perfect rest," and "God is infinite kindness."

CONTROVERSIAL

There are but few publications on our list that are entirely free from controversy. This condition is largely due to the irrepressible tendency of writers on psychology to stray into metaphysics. The output of such men as Wieman (135, 136, 137), Binder (16), Woodburne (138), and Chanson (27), while containing much psychological matter is so predominantly occupied with the metapsychological as almost to make the propriety of their inclusion in our list debatable. "Probably no psychological writer," says Thouless (124, p. 102), "quite manages to emancipate himself from his own metaphysical affirmations." Others have made similar observations (39,

p. 50; 56, p. 97; 43, p. 187. Random examples of metaphysicizing are (72, pp. 67, 110; 123, p. 33; 56, pp. 14, 99; 105; 57, p. 96; 38, pp. 165, 166; 95, Chap. VII; 22, p. 268). In various ways and wordings, the "objective validity" of the predications studied is brought into consideration.

This very practice is among the bones of contention. While, on the one hand, Baker holds that "it is not the business of psychology in any of its departments to attack or defend the objective truth of religion" (7, p. 176), Streeter urges that "it is pure waste of time to ask the meaning of psychological data in religious experience or belief unless one has first answered the question whether, apart from these data, the existence of God is a probable or improbable hypothesis" (123, p. 269) and Pratt who is presumably above all ex parte pleading suggests that "subjective worship depends on objective conviction and will fade if the objective fades (92)."

Another object of defense is psychology itself and particularly psychoanalysis. Elliott is concerned to show "that psychology does not make a genuine religious faith impossible" (39, p. 75) and that the psychologist "feels that he is learning more of God as he comes to know the divine laws in human personality and that he is helping to reveal the individual's divine power" (39, p. 48). Similarly Jordan commends the psychological approach to religion for its "purifying effect upon religious experience" (56, p. 19), "for its large social value" and for its contribution to church work (p. 22). Müller-Braunschweig (80), like Schultz (113, p. 28), would refute the charge that psychoanalysis is inseparable from irreligion and immorality. He insists that convictions such as those of personal responsibility (80, p. 56), of "grace from above" and dependence on a Higher Power (p. 59) receive, from psychoanalysis, fresh validation. Closely related to this is the claim, variously worded, that a forerunner of modern practical psychology was Jesus (39, pp. 27, 37; 82; 117).

The defense of religion itself proceeds along various lines. One is that of dispelling the suspicion that religion is a cause of psychoneuroses. Especially detailed and convincing is Schou (109). "Religious influence," he says (pp. 120, 121), "is, according to modern psychiatrists, a rare, very rare cause of insanity." Only from ½ per cent to 1 per cent of the cases in a large Danish asylum were found by him to have a religious etiology (pp. 119, 120). Schou mentions Dr. P. D. Koch who cannot, from his own experience, "quote a single case where religious influence or emotion gave rise to insanity."

Rather does Schou discover reason to maintain that "religion is a safeguard against insanity" and to agree with Oppenheimer whom he quotes to the effect "that religion offers a strong, albeit by no means certain support in the struggle against those powers which attack the nervous system." Streeter performs the volte face of inferring health precisely from the phenomena commonly regarded as morbid:

"The austerities endured and the lives lived year after year by some of the saints were enough to kill an ordinary person in six months. Somehow and somewhere these people must have secured some special enhancement of vitality and this at least suggests the possibility that in Religion itself there is a health creating power which may go some way to counteract a psychoneurosis which has originated in some other cause" (123, p. 277).

That religion has a disturbing effect is a charge which draws from Boisen (19) the reply that disturbance is salutary and curative for some mental conditions. Flower reminds us that "there are psychaesthenics in other walks of life besides religion" (43, p. 119).

Nor is religion the result of neurosis (7, Chap X; 22, p. 268; 30; 43, p. 199). Brown (22) brings as evidence his observation that analysis which cures the neurosis makes the patient not less religious but more so. The others take up the challenge flung by Freud and by Martin in their characterization of religion as a "flight from reality." Tillyard (126, p. 192) points out that Freud's patients and perhaps Freud himself were sexual neuraesthenics; hence the dubiousness of some of Freud's conclusions.

Edward meets the innuendo that religion is a mere product of mass suggestion by indicating that "there is actually, at the present time, a very strong force of mass suggestion in favor of secularism, so-called rationalism and irreligion" (38, p. 161). With like intent, Streeter differentiates between "true" prayer and "merely pious autosuggestion," by stressing the former's moral and aesthetic superiority (123, p. 292). Jordan also urges that, to explain the benefits of prayer, factors other than autosuggestion must be admitted (56, p. 105). Edward (38, p. 192), Jordan (56, p. 25) and Baker (7, p. 165) further take pains to combat the assertion that religion is "a mere fantasy construct" and the idea of God "a mere projection of the individual's wishes." Their arguments consist in drawing certain distinctions which the opposition is accused of having overlooked. To defend the efficacy of prayer, Streeter (123, p. 297) even invokes telepathic phenomena.

Then there is the defense of religion against what may be called

illogical inference. One writer reminds us that irrational ideas are not necessarily false ideas (38, p. 157) and that suggestion and emotion are not the same as invalidation (ibid., p. 184). Another discriminates between the "truth of an idea" and the "mechanism of its acceptance" (123, p. 289). That "the manner in which spiritual results are achieved is immaterial in comparison with their value" (109, p. 213) and that "it is arbitrary and illogical to deny the superior value of a religious mood because it can be shown to have an organic cause" (ibid., p. 214) is the plea of yet another. Josey argues that "the objective being or reality of God does not stand or fall with any particular conception held of God" (57, p. 120) and R. M. Jones that "the method of psychological diagnosis which is believed to destroy the objective validity of mystical experience would also destroy all objective validity in every field of experience" (55). Objection, finally, is raised to the "fallacy of psychologism" which is "at bottom the claim that that which is an unnecessary hypothesis for psychology is an illusion" (38, p. 170).

Pragmatic pleas in favor of religion are that the efficacy of prayer would be greatly diminished if objective belief were destroyed (38, p. 151) and that "the horrors of the World War can be traced back to the teachings which set at naught the revealed truths of the Eternal God" (121, p. 93). This same volume (121, p. 39) marshals pragmatic considerations not only in defense of religion but also of older psychological views which are deemed more favorable to religion than the newer ones. "We have heard of not a few cases of deplorable moral delinquency on the part of youths who had been taught that 'conditioned reflexes' rather than personal choices are responsible for all phases of human conduct" and "if consciousness has no influence over conduct the effort to lodge an aversion to evil therein is of course wasted effort" (p. 72).

In some instances the attack is carried into the domain of the "enemy." The "enemy" is charged with metaphysicizing. "Certain scientists," comments one of our writers, "have joined with their scientific findings a mechanistic interpretation of life. But in so doing they are no longer scientists but are philosophers and theologians" (39, p. 50). Jung is accused of "committing an encroachment of psychopathology on the realm of philosophy and theology" (43, p. 187). Psychoanalysis is arraigned on various counts (7, 22, 28, 34, 95). De Sanctis calls attention to the psychoanalytic studies of rituals, ceremonials, customs, etc., and brands these as "an interpretation of 'external' facts based upon the experience drawn

from the psychoanalysis of a few individuals and availing itself of easy generalizations" (34, p. 20). Brown censures "the fallacy . . . of explaining the normal mind in terms of the abnormal without first giving an adequate theory of the distinction between normal and abnormal" (22, p. 68) and, again, "the whole question of faith in terms of infantile experience is based upon an original postulate. It is not necessarily based on facts at all " (ibid., p. 277). The most trenchant critic of psychoanalysis is Baker (7) who, in his Chapter X, attacks Freud's "Totem and Taboo," Jung's "Psychology of the Unconscious" and Martin's "Mystery of Religion." "Freud's explanation is as plausible as any other but it has no evidence for it at all" (p. 159). "Sex may be as important in life and religion as Freud holds it to be but he will hardly find proof of it in the recorded words and acts of Jesus" (p. 164). "'The psychological fatality of ambivalence demands its right' he (Jung) continues, for great is jargon and those who sacrifice to no other gods make their offerings to it" (p. 165). "Nobody would have taken the trouble to assert the close connection between religion and the sex instinct except with the desire to discredit religion" (p. 176).

The assailants of religion are Moxon (79), Reik (96), Kamiat (58, 59, 60), and Schroeder (110). Reik's essay is one long brilliant ridicule of religion. Kamiat's attitude is divulged by his titles. Religion is by him identified with "flights from the world" (60, p. 223), "compensations for inferiority" (58, p. 218), "delusions of infallibility" (58, p. 218; 59, p. 304), "phantasy" (58, p. 218), "world-phobia" (60, p. 223), the "fantastic" (60, p. 223), "frivolous theological questions and quibbles" (60, p. 231), "compulsion neurosis" (60, p. 231), a "swollen sense of importance" (59, p. 310), the "insane" (59, p. 310). Schroeder's effusion is a series of psychoanalytic jeers at the mystic deliverances of an anonymous clergyman whom Schroeder sees fit to quote at length. Schroeder is dogmatically certain that "God is the creature of our subjective but unconscious determinants."

THE PRACTICAL

The subject matter that we designate as practical admits of subdivision into (1) the therapeutic, (2) the clerical and (3) the pedagogical.

1. Besides the publications concerned preponderantly with religiotherapy (30, 53, 64, 84, 113, 117), some of the biographies deal extensively with religio-therapy, especially those of Blumhardt (112), Stanger (140), Binggeli (100), and Therese Neumann (132). Brown

(22) has an entire chapter (Chap. XXI, Suggestion and Faith) devoted to the topic. Schou, who specifically considers how certain forms of insanity can be helped by the religious approach (109, Chap. IV), goes so far as to say that "anything in which the patient confidently believes can cure the disease" (p. 173). Schultz calls attention to the superior efficacy of mass movements like Stoicism, Christian Science, etc., as compared with individual neuropsychiatric treatment (113, p. 22). Oliver's story "Fear" (84) tells of a business man in whom a medical pronouncement of high blood pressure had produced a fear that proved well nigh ruinous. Restoration comes after a long period of treatment in a sanitarium where religious convictions are inculcated. The successful psychiatrist in the story (who happens to be a fervent believer in the doctrines of Christianity) makes the religious reminiscences which are profoundly impressive to himself similarly impressive for his patient.

2. Bearing upon the practical tasks of the clergyman, the types of counsel offered are manifold. Josey (57) presents valuable reflections on preaching (Chap. X), on prayer (Chap. XII), on asceticism (Chap. XI), and on other cult practices (Chap. IX); similarly Jordan (56, p. 123) who, like Rohrbaugh (99, p. 160) and a few others, dilates on the difference between subjective worship and objective; and like Elliott who accounts somewhat sermonically for the failure of some prayers to become fervent (39, p. 72). Tillyard's book (126) is not merely a description of breathings, postures, etc., that have been used to generate mystic states, it is also a guide for such as wish to avail themselves of those possibilities. The evils of excessive self-mortification (72, p. 96), the dangers of misusing the unconscious (18), the advantages of skepticism (72, p. 125), the importance of respecting and utilizing the intellect (91, pp. 109-111; 56, p. 95), the banefulness of melodramatic conversion (57, Chap. VIII; 56, p. 95) and the benefits of adult religious education (91, pp. 109-111) are among the matters handled. One author who believes ritualism to be "dangerous as its overuse may be a hindrance to the power and spontaneity of the spiritual life" at the same time holds that Catholic "churches are filled because the people have a large part in the services" (72, p. 91).

The obligation of the clergy to use the discoveries of psychology is the central theme of Gruehn (49) and Buntzel (23). Nor are we surprised to find a psychoanalyst advising that the clergy learn about psychoanalysis at least enough to distinguish a normal difficulty which belongs to the clergyman's province from the morbid with which

none but a psychiatrist can cope (80, p. 63). It is similarly matter of course when a follower of Alfred Adler pronounces the *Individual-psychologie* to be paramount (82, p. 31). Meanwhile Schultz cautions that, for diagnosis and treatment, only the expert is fitted (113). Particularly for the confessional work of the Catholic clergy, is psychological knowledge recommended (56, p. 76). A detailed account of the way in which a Protestant chaplain functioned in behalf of a Catholic soldier who had committed suicide fills a lengthy article in *Religionpsychologie* (62). Even the bearing of psychology on the question of church union is, in one instance, considered (56, p. 158).

Küssner reports (67) that the English working people are alienated from the church although given to demonstrations of religion outside of the church and that, contributing largely to this condition, was the church's support of the war. Certain individual clergymen who are notable friends of labor have, among the workers, a considerable following. In Germany, according to Frühauf (46), the wretched post-war conditions degraded the workers to a level at which higher interests exert scant appeal. With but few exceptions and qualifications, the church is abhorred by the toiling masses and is frequented, if at all, by their women and children, religious observances that survive are matters of routine habit. The solution of the problem awaits improvement of industrial conditions and the increase of educational opportunities. Hope is seen in the large number of educated persons who, owing to economic vicissitudes, have been shunted into the laboring ranks. Through the somewhat different strands of inquiry followed by Baillie (5), Braithwaite (21), and Mennicke (76), attitudes unfavorable to organized religion are also revealed.

3. As indicated by the titles, religious education is the concern of a number of entire works (2, 24, 41, 42, 121, 128, 129, 130, 131). The subject also occupies parts of other works (as 72, Chap. XI). Thouless believes that "the question of what kind of religious teaching (if any) will enable a child to attain a harmonious adaptation to the demands of life is a problem of greater practical urgency than the adequate classification and understanding of the mystical states of St. Therese" (124, p. 110). Among the tendencies disparaged are shortsightedness (121, p. 71), premature theologizing (56, p. 50) and the inculcation of morbid fears (115, p. 63). "It is the height of folly to treat a child as a little sinner until he has realized the sense of sin" (56, p. 53). Again, "We must feel the child's joy in life, his growing wonder, his ceaseless activity, the romance of his

first words and struggles" (*ibid.*, p. 41). The Watson publications (128, 129, 130), themselves models of scientific method, are an inspiration toward the application of scientific method in religious educational procedure and the abandonment of guess work "mythology."

Interesting are the pedagogical innovations of Felden, a liberal pastor of Bremen (41). Felden presents a careful study of juvenile attitudes, both affirmative and negative, on the subject of God and expounds a method for leading the child from crude conceptions to higher ones. His formula is, "Es gälte das Kind erleben zu lassen: Alleinheit und Liebe."

APPRAISAL

On the whole, the caliber of this literature is not high. great masters, James, Starbuck, Coe, Ames, Pratt, Hall, McDougall, having spoken, what we have to-day, as Leroux (69) intimates, is mostly the feeble echo of their imitators and quoters. While some of the publications on our list (46, 57, 96, 109, 132 and a few others) are distinctly worth while, most of what one reads is boggy and foggy. The psychology of religion, barring the best achievements of psychoanalysis, is still at a level analogous to that of chemistry when the four elements were hot, dry, moist and cold. But, aside from this, the tendency to generalize from a few instances or from one instance and often from no instances at all is widespread. Again, that psychologizing should drift off into philosophizing may be inevitable but one's scientific expectations suffer a more serious disappointment when psychologizing strays into polemicizing, apologizing and sermonizing. The philosophizing itself is platitudinous and unconvincing. Terms like "reality," "objectivity," "objectified," "illusory," "projection" are bandied about with a childlike nonconcern for defining either their sense or their consequence. The questions "What is objectivity?" and "Why do we need objectivity?" are not raised. Excepting where Josey writes: "The possibilities of a religion founded even on a materialistic view are not to be despised," or where Edward writes: "I have not used the term 'belief' because I wished in the definition to avoid as far as possible identifying religion with any of its aspects" (38, p. 24), we encounter little intimation that religion may coincide with interests higher and deeper than that of defending one hypothesis against another. That there may be in religion something to which believing and disbelieving are alike subordinate is a surmise which rarely breaks through the cut and dried assumption that to believe one thing is religious and to believe something else irreligious. One toils through this literature with the feeling that the old leads are well nigh exhausted and that the time is ripe for renewal and fresh discovery. Less quotation and more observation—also less theologizing and more adventuring—is the need of the hour.

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RECENT EXPERIMENTS ON VISUAL AESTHETICS

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In this review, papers published before 1925 will be mentioned only for purposes of comparison. Reference should be made to the reviews on feeling and emotion by Gates (11) and Washburn (38).

The work of von Allesch (1) seems to the present reviewer to render obsolete nearly all other work on the aesthetics of color. The study of his paper should be prerequisite to the formation of further experimental projects in this field. His work was both extensive and intensive. He experimented from 1904 to 1914 or later, and his manuscript was not submitted for publication till 1924. His observers were numerous, and many individuals continued to participate in his experiments for many years. Many observers gave exceptionally copious and subtle introspections. He carried his technique to a high degree of refinement.

Earlier experimenters had assumed that there is a basic agreement, at least in a given cultural group, as to the relative pleasantness of single colors and the relative harmoniousness of color pairs, and that this agreement could be disentangled from disturbing factors (supposed to be of minor importance). To be sure the results of their experiments were chaotic, but von Allesch at first hoped to secure more uniform results by refining upon the conditions of experimentation. However, the most careful and thorough work served only to emphasize the fact that observers disagree sharply, and that each observer contradicts himself with reference to all sorts of colors—preferring x to y, y to z, but z to x, etc. Neither art historians and painters, on the one hand, nor servant girls, on the other, render consistent judgments. In color pairs, no particular distance in the circle of hues, no particular degree of contrast in brightness, was a marked favorite over others for the whole group of observers.

Von Allesch therefore abandoned the pursuit of averages and studied the varieties of total effect of single colors and paired colors, with reference to the effects of sequence, background, verbal suggestion, and the subjective factors revealed by introspection.

Even in judgments as to hue, value, and saturation, he found 720

relativity. What on one occasion was judged to be a "pure" red was judged by the same observer at another time as purplish or yellowish. The same colors may be seen as unitary or complex; e.g., "a very dark yellow," or "black with a golden gleam on it."

Variety and inconsistency were still greater when he came to study the manifold "meanings" or "expressions" of color, such as dimness, paleness, harshness, vigor, warmth, cheerfulness, aggressiveness, expansion, and their opposites. In this field his work reminds one of Stefanescu-Goanga (32) and Bullough (5, 6, 7), neither of whom he mentions although their work was published before his. His work seems superior to theirs in many respects; nevertheless a comparison of methods and results, and of the concepts used in interpreting the results, would have been helpful.

With reference to types of observer, von Allesch did not arrive at any such simple classification as Bullough's four types. He found some observers noting certain groups of effects most frequently; other observers, other groups of effects. Some observers noted a more varied range of effects than others. Some observers were affected in one way by continuing the experiments through several years, others in other ways.

A pair of colors, he found, is not merely pleasant or unpleasant as a whole. The "expressions" of the component colors, and an interplay between them, are involved. Emphasis may fall on one of the colors, as helped or hindered by the other, or upon the pair as presenting similar, supplementary, or discordant expressions. "Harmony" has many varieties. Here a correlation with Bullough's results (7) would have been especially appropriate.

The relation of expressive traits like activity, warmth, sadness, etc., to objective features of the stimulus was elastic in the extreme. Almost every combination of hue, value, and saturation received contradictory judgments like active and passive, warm and cool. But it is not true that every color can have every effect. Although "cheerful" and "sad" often turned up unexpectedly, grayish, whitish, and blackish colors were rarely "cheerful" and the most saturated colors were never "sad." Saturated red, orange, and yellow, also dark yellow, were never "cool," but the only colors never called "warm" were blue in its saturated and medium or light unsaturated nuances.

With the aid of verbal suggestion a given "expression" could be

spread over regions of color that never spontaneously evoked it. But even to this there were limits. "Joyousness" (Froehlichkeit) could be stretched to include dark blues but observers make such reports as "there is no more dancing" or "the joy becomes like organ music."

The effects of background were carefully studied, using black, white, and twenty-two steps of neutral gray. Saturated colors show their varied expressions most fully when the background is a gray slightly lighter or darker than the color. Against light backgrounds they become lifeless and flat; against very dark backgrounds they become brutal and harsh. Less saturated colors are also most expressive against a background not too sharply contrasted in value. With too much contrast in either direction they become lifeless and flat. Light colors are best against a little darker gray, dark colors against a little lighter gray. The same principles apply to the backgrounds for pairs of colors, if the components of the pair are not sharply contrasted in brightness. But if the pair presents a brightness contrast, the background should be of intermediate brightness.

In interpreting his results, von Allesch develops important and subtle conceptions of *Niveau* (level or standard of comparison), *Gefaelle* (trend), and Category. For instance, our standard of what is typically green varies with circumstances. A given stimulus, call it yellow-green, will be assigned to the category "green" if our temporary standard is not too remote in hue; but its trend is away from green, the yellowish tone is conspicuous and the color is likely to be regarded as an active and cheerful green. But if the temporary standard of green is more remote, and the temporary standard of yellow is nearer, the same stimulus may be assigned to the category "yellow" but the trend being toward green, the effect may be that of a muddy and inert yellow. This is one of the reasons for which colors sometimes seem complex.

In the light of such considerations the pleasantness or unpleasantness of a color is seen to be no simple matter. It may be determined by some of the above expressive effects plus the harmony or discord between the "expression" of the color and the abiding temperament or temporary mood of the observer. A certain red was called "strong, healthy, happy" by one observer, "dazzling, reckless, brutal" by another. Both observers recognized the color as aggressive; but the mood or temperament of one led him to sympathize with the aggres-

siveness, while the mood or temperament of the other led him to be repelled by it.

The experiments of von Allesch demonstrate the pervasive relativity of color effects to background, sequence, subjective standards, temperament, and mood. To use a fixed background or a fixed sequence throughout an experiment with colors is not to find the normal effect of the colors, but to place an artificial restriction upon a normal variability of effect. To take the bare preferences of numerous observers and average the results, is to run the risk of averaging dissimilar things and arriving at numbers which are not the number of anything.

When Winch (41) secured color preferences based on the presentation of the mere names of the colors, he treated subjective "standards" or "categories" as if they were objective. Observers do not agree as to what is a typical red, nor as to where blue leaves off and green begins. The "red" which one pupil prefers to "blue" may not be the same as the "red" which another pupil ranks below "blue." When Garth (9, 10) presented small bits of color on white cards there was a fixity of pattern and background which artificially limited the effects. Yellow, for instance, may not do itself justice on a white ground. To like a color so presented does not guarantee a liking for it in a majority of its occurrences in art and nature, nor a liking for other nuances of the "same" color.

Gesche (13), Hurlock (15), Hirohashi (14) and Shikiba (31) continue the types of experiment popularized by Winch and Garth. A table comparing some of the results of these and other studies is appended.

When Hirohashi used actual colors instead of names with a few observers, the results were seriously altered, contrary to the experience of Michaels (27).

Shikiba found that the following subgroups were exceptional in giving red first place: boys convicted of arson, manic patients, morphine addicts.

Hirohashi found that in grades I to VI in certain Japanese schools red and yellow are more favored by the younger pupils than the older ones.

Gesche (13) found among Mexican children in the schools of San Antonio, Texas, that red, yellow and green are more favored by younger children than older ones, while blue is more favored by older children than by younger ones.

TABLE

Order of Preference

Jastrow (18), 4,556 observers. Prang papers. (His 2,746 men put B	a M. a.n to impropried.
1st, R 2nd; his 1,810 women put	STATISTICS SHARLE INTO HE STATE
R 1st, B 2nd)	B, R, V, G, Y, O.
mermann papers	V, B', R', B", R", R' ", Y, G, O.
Washburn (36), 35 college girls. Bradley papers on white.	Land and the Sale is resident to make
Saturated colors	R, GB, OR, V, (OY, BV), (VB, B), VR, RO, (YO, BG), Y, (RV,
	G), (O, YG), GY.
Light tints	B, (RV, V), BV, VB, YG, G, (GB, OR), (BG, RO, R), YO, (Y, OY), O, GY, VR.
Dark shades	YG, B, (R, VB), (BV, GB, G), V, (RO, OR), VR, (RV, GY, YO,
Geissler (12), Bradley papers on gray.	O), BG, OY, Y.
61 women	G, (R, BG), (P, Y), O, B.
61 men	B, (P, G), R, Y, O.
Garth (9), Bradley papers on white;	
1,000 white children	B, (G, R, V, O), Y, W.
Garth (10), Bradley papers on white;	
559 full blood Indians	R, B, V, G, O, Y, W.
Mercer, H. G.(25), Bradley papers on	
white; mixed blood Indians	R, B, V, G, O, Y, W.
Mercer, F. M.(24), Bradley papers on	
white; 1,006 negro children	B, (O, V, G, R), Y, W.
Gesche (13), Bradley papers on white;	
1,152 Mexican children	R, G, B, V, O, W, Y.
Katz and Breed (19), Bradley papers	
on white; 2,500 observers:	D C D V V O
Children, grades I-VIII	B, G, R, V, Y, O.
College men	B, G, (R, V), O, Y.
College women	G, V, B, R, Y, O.
Shikiba (31), 247 deranged or delin-	
quent Japanese; Zimmermann	D D W C W C
papers	B, R, V, G, Y, O.
Imada (16), Zimmermann papers on white; 1,170 Japanese children:	
Grades I-VIII	B, R, G, Y, V, O.
Including 526 girls	R, G, V, etc.
and 644 boys	B, Y, O, etc.
Mizuguchi & Aoki (28), Zimmermann	-, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -, -
papers on gray; 249 Japanese	
adults	B, V, Cobalt, GB, R, Pink, G, YG,
	_, _,,,,,,,,,

¹ Parentheses enclose colors of equal or nearly equal rank.

	Crimson, GY, W, Scarlet, BK, O, Gray, Y, OY.
Including 144 men	B, Cobalt, GB, V, Pink, etc.
and 105 women	V, R, GB, Cobalt, B, etc.
Winch (41), color list (sample results)	,, 14, 02, 00000, 2, 000
285 girls, "School F," Grade III.	B, R, Y, W, G, BK.
Grades IV, V, VI	B, R, W, G, Y, BK.
Grades VII, VIII	B, R, G, W, Y, BK.
297 Boys, "School OK," Grades	2, 2, 0, 11, 2, 222
III, IV, V	R, B, Y, G, W, BK.
Grades VI, VII, VIII	B, R, G, Y, W, BK.
Hurlock (15), color list:	2, 2, 0, 2, 17, 222
114 white boys	B, Pink, W, (V, R), Crimson, P,
114 white boys	(G, O, Y, Gray), Brown, BK.
80 white girls	B, Pink, V, G, (R, Crimson), W,
	(Brown, P, Gray), (Y, O), BK.
142 negro boys	B, V, Pink, (Crimson, O), G, (R. Brown, W, P), (Y, Gray), BK.
64 negro girls	B, Pink, G, (R, P, Y, O), (Brown,
or ingre guis	W, V), (Crimson, Gray, BK).
Michaels (27):	
27 V grade boys in one New York	
city school, color list	V, R, B, O, Y, G.
Same 27 boys eight days later,	
Bradley papers on white	V, R, B, O, Y, G.
88 V grade boys in another New	
York city school, Bradley papers	
on white	B, O, R, V, Y, G.
Hirohashi (14), color list; Japanese	
pupils:	
1,056 girls Grades VII-XII	W, BK, B, G, R, Y.
1,035 boys, Grades VII-XII	G, B, W, R, Y, BK.
444 men, normal schools	G, W, B, R, Y, BK.
Dorcus (8), Munsell colors; 1,235	
subjects of assorted ages, includ-	
ing 430 college men, 401 college	
women:	
More saturated colors	B, O, P, G, R, Y.
Less saturated colors	B, P, G, O, R, Y.
	-1 -1 -1 -1 -1 -1

Dorcus (8) sought to determine the effect of saturation on color preference, and the varieties of associations with color. The colors were presented in pairs for comparison, and then the series was repeated with the positions of the colors reversed as to left and right. Reversals of preference as between the two series amounted to 20 to 30 per cent among college students; reversals were still more plentiful among children and the aged, and more variable among the

groups of psychopaths. In view of many split preferences and the reversals just noted, Dorcus concludes, "we must be rather skeptical as to whether there is such a thing as color preference." The present reviewer would suggest, in view of the work of Bullough, Stefanescu-Goanga, and von Allesch, that there are many preferences, depending on many variable factors.

With reference to associations the following conclusions were drawn: saturated colors evoke more associations than unsaturated colors; more associations are evoked in women than in men; women report more associations in the field of dress than in any other field.

Kido (20) experimented with five adults, using Wundt's R, Y, B, G papers singly and in pairs. Only one of the subjects gave the order of preference for the pairs that would be due to the pleasantness of their components. This supports Washburn's conclusion (37) as against Geissler's (12).

Metcalf (26) experimented with preferences among brightness combinations. Each figure consisted of a 1-inch square, the "center," upon a 3-inch square, the "background"; these were made up from black, white and three shades of gray papers, in all possible combinations. These figures were displayed against a "field" of black, white, or medium gray. The order of preference was as follows:

One-step combinations of two grays.

Two-step combinations.

Three-step combinations.

One-step combinations containing BK or W.

The four-step combination, BK and W.

It should be remembered that these "steps" are long, since four of them reach from black to white.

The field had a marked effect. It would seem to the present reviewer a mistake to use a "field" which matches the "background" as often happened in this experiment. The conclusions of von Allesch in regard to background deserve consideration in all future experiments.

The relation of each observer's preferences among the colors seen singly to his preferences among the pairs was worked out. Two observers rated pairs solely in order of strength of contrast, and rated single colors according to their contrast with the "field"; they therefore showed no correlation between the two series. For the other 22 observers, the pleasantness of the components seemed to be a factor, but not the sole factor, in preference among pairs. This again supports Washburn's conclusion (37).

Mogensen and English (29) sought to determine whether the alleged apparent warmth of colors is such as to produce illusions as to the warmth of colored objects that we touch. Their conclusions were negative. So far as there was any suggestion of such illusions they were produced by colors in the following order (from warmest to coolest): G, B, O, Y, R, P, which is quite contrary to artists' classifications of colors as warm and cool.

Warden and Flynn (35) experimented with color-size and color-weight illusions. Cartons of different colors but of the same size were arranged in rows. The observers had to estimate their sizes. "The color-size illusion, under the present conditions, did not depend on the intrinsic quality of the color nor upon the contrast effect of the immediate context, but, as would appear, upon the specific serial arrangement." The color-weight illusion was more marked. (The observers had to estimate the weights without touching the cartons.) The ranking of the colors according to their power to produce the illusion of weight was as follows: BK, R (P, Gray), B, G, Y, W. Nothing is stated as to the relative brightness of the Hering papers used, although Bullough (5) attributed weight mainly to the inverse influence of brightness.

Koch (21) investigated the apparent weight of colors by means of a balanced arrangement of color disks on a movable rod. Her conclusion is that the results are due more to chance than to any effect of apparent weight. So far as the lumped results from six observers suggested any such factor, the order of apparent heaviness would be: G, BK, Medium Gray, R, B, W, Y.

Belaiew-Exemplarsky (2) investigated illusions due to the "advancing" quality of colors. Red is the color most frequently judged to be nearer than it really is; then in order follow yellow, green, blue, white, black, and gray. Blue and white gave nearly identical results. Introspectively, some colors seemed solid, others liquid or atmospheric. A disturbing factor in judging the apparent distance of blue was its tendency to seem to pervade the atmosphere in front of it.

Brandt (3) investigated the memory-values of colors as applied to advertising, and obtained results which may have some general aesthetic significance. She used R, G, Y, V for different features of advertisements. Some of her conclusions are as follows:

"Color appears to direct attention toward the particular parts of a page where color is used, and so tends to strengthen the likelihood that those parts will be remembered" (p. 44). "The colored parts of an advertisement are, however, emphasized only at the expense of the others. Thus an uncolored feature of an advertisement in which color is used elsewhere, has a poorer chance of being remembered than the same feature would have if it appeared upon an entirely uncolored page" (p. 44).

Red was superior in facilitating the recall of specific features; green and yellow variable; blue markedly inferior (pp. 47-50).

If there is such a thing as animal aesthetics, two notes by Walton (34) and Bretnall (4) may be regarded as contributions to it. Walton found that earthworms are indifferent to red light but withdraw from blue. Bretnall exposed earthworms to light passed through a prism, yielding the array of spectral colors. "As they moved to get away from the light they always went out the red end. This reaction occurred with every worm except one. This worm lay full length in the green and stayed there. I was not able to repeat this last reaction." (Perhaps even earthworms have their moods.)

Experiments on visual form and on pictures seem to be far fewer

than those on color in the past few years.

Weber (39) formed a "complexity preference series" of seven drawings of cross-forms of varying complexity. These were presented for choice by the method of paired comparison. The results were correlated with the observers' scores for apperception based on tests with the Heilbronner cards. The following correlations were obtained:

Year	Cases	r	P.E.
1925	62	plus .392	.072
1926	48	plus .412	.080

Correlations with college grades and with intelligence test scores were much lower. When coverlet designs were used the correlation with the apperception score was likewise much lower. (It is not surprising that complex forms are more popular among good apperceivers than among poor apperceivers. But it would be a mistake if any one inferred that the good apperceiver will normally prefer the more complex of two figures; he can appreciate the complexity of the one, but he may admire the simplicity of the other.)

Lund and Anastasi (23) performed several series of experiments with linear figures. One hundred and thirty psychology students of Barnard College served as subjects. In some cases the subjects were asked to improve a figure by adding lines; in other cases they had to

choose between a single figure and other figures consisting of repetitions of it. The subjects in general showed a preference for balanced, rhythmical, and "significant" figures. The authors interpret their results in terms of facilitation through preparedness. But is would be a mistake if such experiments were supposed to invalidate Bacon's dictum that "There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion." (Essay XLIII—Of Beauty.)

Wells (40) and Symmes (33) sought to determine the speed

with which feelings with reference to pictures are formed in different groups of observers and in the case of different types of pictures. Wells found that his two women subjects reacted more rapidly than his three men. Pictures of women's faces were judged more promptly than those of men's faces. Only one of the observers (a man) judged the attractiveness of landscapes more promptly than that of women's faces. Symmes used 103 observers, and found the men reacting more quickly than the women, contrary to Wells' result with a small group. Pictures of buildings were judged a little bit more promptly than landscapes; color papers were judged far more promptly than either. The groups of observers having more education reacted more promptly. Neither experimenter sought to correlate the character of the individual pictures with the character of the feelings evoked.

Israeli (17) showed 20 colored reproductions of landscape paintings to 11 observers, who recorded whatever emotions they felt. From their records a list of 23 adjectives (and names of emotions) was formed. The pictures were then shown to 400 other observers, who had before them the list of adjectives and were directed to select one or more of these adjectives to indicate the emotions aroused.

The experimenter gives tables (unfortunately containing some misprints or clerical errors) of all the adjectives assigned to the same picture by more than 10 per cent of the observers. These percentages rose as high as 68.1 and the average (disregarding percentages under 10) was 22.6. College students showed a closer agreement than high school and art students. Lowell (22) had found that "in the affective reactions to lines the percentage agreement increased with intelligence and age." The same was true here except for the low degree of agreement among graduate art students.

Israeli concludes that his observers "behave very much alike." This seems an overstatement in view of such data as the following:

Picture	Adjective Series	Per Cent Agreement
2	tumult	16.3
	depression	16.1
	excitement	11.7
	calmness	11.5
7	tumult	20.0
	excitement	16.9
	depression	11.1
	calmness	10.0
9	tumult	21.4
	sprightly	14.7
	calmness	12.7
	excitement	10.4
15	calmness	34.2
	sprightly	25.4
20	tumult	13.3
	excitement	10.1
	calmness	10.0

Such results indicate that the decorator has no easy task in selecting pictures that would be soothing or stimulating to a client.

No attempt is made in this study to correlate the emotional effects with objective features of the pictures or to trace the subjective motives of the observers. Even when observers agree in finding a picture exciting, they may be excited for different reasons.

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SPECIAL REVIEWS

K. Schjelderup. Die Askese, eine religionspsychologische Untersuchung. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1928. Pp. vi+249.

The author of this important book became convinced that historical studies of religion and merely descriptive and analytical psychological inquiries leave undone the most important scientific task in this field, namely the attainment of a dynamic, causal knowledge. One regrets that he seems to think, at times at least, that nothing has been done and can be done in that direction without the psychoanalytic theories. The author is not ignorant of scientific psychology and the use he has made of psychoanalytic conceptions has been tempered wisely enough to lead to valuable results. Whereas the preceding studies of asceticism recognize almost exclusively the surface motives, or those which the ascetics themselves, in agreement with the traditional religious ideas, accept as the true motives, Schjelderup endeavors to bring into the light of day suppressed, hidden motives, regarded by him—and it seems to me usually correctly—as either important accessories or as the leading motives.

After a general introduction, including a discussion of the conception of asceticism, the book takes up in successive chapters the Motives of Asceticism, Its Effects, Asceticism and Mysticism, and finally its Religio-Ethical Value.

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J. C. Flower. An Approach to the Psychology of Religion. Oxford: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. Pp. xi+248.

This book is in substance a Ph.D dissertation. Its thesis is set forth and defended in the first two chapters. The rest of the book, and particularly the next three chapters ("A Study of the Religion of the Winnebago Indians"; "The Peyote Cult Among the Winnebago"; "George Fox") is intended as a demonstration of its validity. The concluding chapter ("Psychopathology and Religion") contains, in addition, criticisms of the views of Jung and of Everett D. Martin on the nature of religion.

The definiteness of Dr. Flower's thesis and the admirable clarity with which it is presented and defended, make it possible, and it

seems to me profitable, sharply to join issue with him. The thesis may be briefly presented: There was a point in the passage from animal to man when, because of his power of discrimination, nearman, or possibly man, realized the inadequacy of his habitual ways of meeting certain situations. They were recognized as beyond his instinctive or habitual response-equipment. It is in the presence of such situations that the religious attitude arises (22).

I see no reason for disagreeing with Flower when he affirms that new forms of behavior, new types of adaptation, follow upon the realization of the inadequacy of the established forms. That is something of a truism, but Flower does not stop there. He does not affirm that whatever comes out of the bafflement and emotion due to the presence of a not-understood situation,—a situation which we are not prepared to meet satisfactorily—is necessarily religion. On the contrary, he holds that situations of that sort are "the source of a great deal more than religion." If the new situation is finally understood and brought within the class of situations of which we have control, the response to which it gives rise is not religious. It deserves that name only when the situation preserves an element of mystery, of "utter-beyondness"; or, in other terms, when the response is felt to be inadequate (27-28). Religion is essentially an attitude or response determined by the discrimination of an element of "utterly beyondness" (30, 192); "The typical nuclear religious experience is thus a kind of aching helplessness" (134).

These quotations contain the author's contribution to the understanding of the essence of religion. What is it worth? Does it differentiate the other types of response from the religious? Does it, for instance, separate magic from religion? Not at all, and Flower is fully aware of it: "The essential psychological mark of religion" is, we are told, "that psychological character of the response which is present in the most primitive manifestations of superstition, whether magic, fetishism or animism, and in the most exalted forms of religious experience" (14). "It cannot be too strongly emphasized that, convenient as it is for us to distinguish magic from religion, there is no essential difference from the point of view of the psychological mechanism involved" (110).

Flower's "essential psychological mark" does not even differentiate science from religion. The realization of the "beyondness" of that which he strives to understand, the feeling of the ultimate inadequacy of hypotheses or theories he formulates and uses (for instance about the constitution of the atom), is an outstanding experience of the modern scientist. Shall we then, accepting Flower's theory, say that, in so far as he senses inaccessible aspects of nature, the scientist assumes the religious attitude? If we should do so, we would be back where Herbert Spencer left the problem: "Religion," said he, "consists in the recognition of a mystery pressing for interpretation." The only important difference between him and Flower would be that the latter, inspired by the present behavioristic trend, instead of saying "the recognition," says the "response" or the "attitude" brought out by the recognition of a mystery. Thus, although a psychologist, the author ranges himself with the non-psychological school of Durkheim in so far as, like him, he minimizes the importance of the difference existing between magic and religion.

It should be observed that Flower does not really describe or define the nature or the type of the religious response; he merely describes that which elicits the response: it is a response to something recognized as utterly beyond any adequate response.

Now the religious, the magical, and the scientific types of behavior—all three, and not only the first two—issue or may issue out of the consciousness of a mystery; and all three are consistent with the continuance of the discrimination of a something in the situation to which the response is not fully adequate.

When we recognize our incapacity to make an adequate answer in the presence of a mysterious situation, we may either suffer a conflict of already established tendencies to action, all of which are checked by the realization of their inadequacy, the outcome is then an "aching helplessness"—that which Flower would have us regard as the essential mark of religion; or one of our habitual ways of acting may win over the others and then we respond in some more or less habitual manner, even though conscious, at least at first, that it is inadequate; or yet we may learn to make a new type of response.

We make what in my opinion is properly called a religious response when we attempt to meet the mysterious situation facing us, by establishing a personal, social relation with invisible great beings, usually called gods. George Fox was not a religious man because he was tormented by he knew not what, or because none of the ways proferred by his acquaintances for solving his dark problems suited him. His religious life began when he sought and found their solution in the establishment of intimate relations with a personal god.

That which Durkheim in the "Elementary Forms of Religious Life," and Flower in the volume under discussion have attempted,

is really not a characterization of the religious type of behavior; they have gone back of the religions and of magic in order to discover a root common to both; and they have succeeded. Flower has even found something common to magic, religion and science. But, then, why claim to have singled out the essential characteristic of religion!

These authors have done something similar to what a student of commerce would do, were he to find its essence in the desire for possession. He would not be wrong, but he would not have thrown any light on commerce in so far as it is different from industry, theft, courtship, etc., for all of these different types of activity are also characterized by the desire for possession.

Flower's book is exactly what the title says it is: "An Approach to the Psychology of Religion"; it remains outside religion.

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